



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Historical Situation in Joel and Obadiah.¹

BY PROF. WILLIS J. BEECHER.

IT is possible to state the subject of the book of Joel thus : The day of Jehovah ; first, as a day of chastisement to Zion, i. 15, ii. 1, 2, 11 ; second, as a day of recovery for Zion, and of judgment for the nations, iii. 4, iv. 14, 18, cf. iii. 2, iv. 1, iii. 1 (ii. 31, iii. 14, 18, cf. ii. 29, iii. 1, ii. 28).

With this statement of the subject, the analysis of the book is as follows :

The title, i. 1.

Part first, i. 2-ii. 17, The day of Jehovah as a day of chastisement to Zion, calling for repentance.

Part second, ii. 18 to close of book, The day of Jehovah as a day of blessing to his repentant people, and of judgment to the nations.

The title reads thus :

“The word of Jehovah which was unto Joel the son of Pethuel.”

This needs no comment further than to say that we have no information concerning either Joel or the book, other than that which can be drawn from the contents of the book itself, and from the comparison of these with facts learned elsewhere.

The first part of the book, that which treats of the day of Jehovah as a day of chastisement for his people, consists of three sections : first, the mention of certain remarkable events as being the occasion of uttering the prophecy, i. 2, 3 ; second, a description of the events, i. 4-13 ; third, the description repeated, in connection with a call to fasting and repentance, i. 14-ii. 17.

1. The first of the three sections is :

“Hear this, ye elders,
And give ear, all ye who dwell in the land;
Was this in your days,
Or indeed in the days of your fathers?
Concerning it recount ye to your sons,
And your sons to their sons,
And their sons to another generation.”

¹ Read in December.

In this section, the pronoun "this" evidently stands for the events which these persons are directed to recount to their descendants, that is to say, the events that are described in the following verses. Evidently, certain events are referred to, which are assumed to be familiar to the persons addressed, and which are sufficiently remarkable to be worth handing down to posterity. The implication in lines three and four is that these events had occurred, not in the days of their fathers, but in their own days. Two other implications are supposable, but this is the one that really fits the case. It follows that the verb, thus referring to something occurring at a definite point of time in the past, should be translated "was," and not "hath been," as in the English versions.

2. The second section of part first describes two of these memorable contemporaneous events that have been thus alluded to, namely, (*a*) a calamity of locusts, i. 4-9, and (*b*) a calamity of drouth, i. 10-13. These two subsections are made very distinct by the fact that each of them closes with the thought that the priests, the ministers of Jehovah, have reason for mourning, because meat-offering and drink-offering are cut off from the house of Jehovah, i. 9, 13.

3. The third section of part first consists of three subsections, which repeat the descriptions of these two calamities, reversing their order, and add to them the mention of a third calamity, coupling with each exhortations to repentance, and to the observing of a public fast. The subsections are (*a*) i. 14-20, redescribing the drouth, (*b*) ii. 1-11 *a*, redescribing the locusts, (*c*) ii. 11 *b*-17, including the mention of a third calamity, namely a domination of foreign enemies, ii. 17. With considerable variety of details, each of these subsections begins with a mention of the day of Jehovah as terrible and as impending, and with exhortations to observe the public fast, and join in the public repentance. In the first two of the subsections, the exhortations are relatively brief, and the description of the calamity relatively full, while in the third the hortatory matter occupies all the space save the last half of the last verse.

The second part of the book begins by assuming that the fasting and the repentance, thus urged, have taken place, either actually or ideally, and continues thus, ii. 18, 19 *a* :

"And Jehovah was jealous for his land,
And had compassion upon his people;
And Jehovah answered and said to his people:"

These verbs are incorrectly rendered in the King James version, as futures, but are correctly rendered in the revised version. The

response of Jehovah to his repentant people, as thus introduced, consists of three groups of promises : first, promises of present relief from the invading enemy and the crop-failure, ii. 19*b*-27 ; second, promises of the outpouring of Jehovah's Spirit, iii. 1-4 (ii. 28-31) ; third, promises of the judgment of the hostile nations, including promises of recovery and triumph for Zion, iii. 5-iv. 21 (ii. 32-iii. 21).

We are now ready to look more particularly at the group of events that formed the occasion of the uttering of the prophecy, namely, the locust-invasion, the drouth, and the foreign hostilities. The statements made in regard to these are very specific, though in the English translations their character as specific statements is often obscured by translating the verbs as indefinite perfects, instead of translating them by the simple historical past tense.

1. *The Locusts*. — The description of these is given in i. 4-9, ii. 1-11*a*, 25. From a literary point of view it is particularly fine, and is worth studying, clause by clause, with comparison between its statements and the facts of natural history. But for the purpose now in hand, we need notice but a fact or two, leaving another fact or two for notice further on.

From ii. 25, "I will make good to you the years which the locust hath eaten," it might possibly be inferred that a series of locust invasions is referred to, extending over several years ; but even if this inference be drawn, it still remains true that the attention, in the book, is mainly called to one particular invasion, so destructive as to be very remarkable.

In this particular invasion the "meat-offering" is said to have been cut off, as well as the "drink-offering" — that is, the grain-crop as well as the wine-crop, i. 9 ; but especial emphasis is placed on the destruction of vine and fig-tree, i. 7, 5 :

"It placed my vine for desolation,
And my figtree for ravaging;
Stripped it of bark, and threw away [the same];
Its branches turned white."

"Awake ye drunkards and weep ye,
And wail, all ye drinkers of wine,
Over the new wine, for it is cut off from your mouth."

It follows that the prophet thought of this particular invasion of locusts especially in connection with the year's fruit-crop, the fruit-crop being later than the grain-crop.

2. *The Drouth*. — This has been too much neglected in exposi-

tions of the book ; often it has been treated as if the drying up of vegetable growth mentioned was a mere incident and result of the destructive work of the locusts. That such is not the case, but that a drouth is mentioned and fully described, as a calamity by itself, will be fully evident to any one who carefully reads, with this question in mind, the passages in i. 10-13, 15-20, ii. 22, 23. Take, for example, the following lines from the promise, ii. 23, remembering that the verbs in the perfect are anticipative, describing something that is promised, and therefore yet in the future : —

“ And you, O sons of Zion,
Exult ye and rejoice ye in Jehovah your God;
For he has given you the former rain righteously,
And has brought down for you
Showers, former rain and latter rain in the first [month].”

This implies, of course, that the calamity whose reversal is here promised included a failure of the rainfall. The same thing is very graphically stated in the following passage, taken from the description of the calamity itself, i. 17, 18, 20 :

“ Seed-kernels have rotted
Under their sods,
Storehouses are desolate,
Granaries are pulled down,
Because the graincrop has dried up.

How cattle moan !
Droves of kine move about uneasily !
Because there is no pasturage for them;
Also the droves of sheep are at fault.”

“ Also wild cattle look with longing unto thee,
For the water brooks are dry,
Fire having devoured the pastures of the wilderness.”

Interpreting the contexts by these unequivocal data, we see that the descriptions of the drouth, in Joel, are hardly less prominent or less picturesque than the more celebrated descriptions of the locusts.

In i. 17, just cited, we have a distinct intimation of the kind of drouth here contemplated, and the season of the year at which it occurred, and hence, of the season of the year at which the fast in Joel is represented to have been called :

“ Seed-kernels have rotted
Under their sods.”

It is not the growing crop that is here said to fail of maturing for lack of moisture, but the seed in the ground is represented as having decayed for lack of moisture to cause it to spring up. The drouth in question is a protracted lack of rain during the sowing season, later in the year than the locust invasion, and threatening famine by the cutting off of the crops of the coming year. The fast described is apparently early enough so that there is yet a chance to escape the worst results, in case Jehovah hears the prayers of his people, and grants them rain,—say about the middle of the half year following the autumnal equinox. As a locust invasion only lasts a short time, this would be some weeks or some months after the locusts had gone. It is in accordance with this, that while Jehovah, in his gracious answer, promises to stay the ravages of the drouth by sending rain, he does not promise to stay the ravages of the locusts, but to make up for these by future bounties, ii. 25. It is not in conflict with this, that the locusts are described, ii. 1-11 *a*, as if they were still before the eyes of the fasting assembly; so vivid were the recollections of them, and of the ravages they had committed.

3. *The Human Invaders.*—These are described in ii. 17, 19 *b*-20, iii. 5 (ii. 32), iv. 1-8, 17 *b*, 19-20 (iii. 1-8, 17 *b*, 19-20).

One of the great controverted questions of the book of Joel is the question whether the locusts described in it are mere locusts or are human invaders, pictured under the figure of locusts. They are called, for example, a “nation,” i. 6, a trained body of soldiers, ii. 6-8, Jehovah’s army, and his great encampment, ii. 11, 25, a “people,” whose like never was before, and, it may be hoped, will not soon be again, ii. 2 :

“For a nation came up upon my land,
Strong and without number;
Its teeth were teeth of a lion,
And a lion’s jaw-teeth it had.”

“Before it peoples quail,
All faces gathered blackness.
As heroes they run,
As men of war they ascend a wall,
And they go each in his ways,
And they break not their ranks,
And they interfere not one with another,
They go every one in his own path,
And when they fall by the missiles, they are not repulsed.”

“Jehovah having given his voice before his force,
 For great exceedingly is his encampment,
 For the doer of his word is strong.”

“And I will make good to you the years
 Which the locust has eaten,
 The yēlēq, and the hāsīl, and the gāzām,
 My great force which I sent among you.”

But all these and similar phrases are fitting and picturesque, if we regard them as figures of speech used to describe actual locusts. There is nothing in them to justify our regarding the people or nation or force or encampment they mention as anything else than a remarkably destructive army of locusts.

But the question whether the book of Joel prominently mentions foreign human invaders does not depend on the question whether its locusts are a figure of speech to represent the human invader. Probably the latter of these two questions must be answered in the negative, but there can be no doubt that the former must be answered in the affirmative. The invasion by human enemies is in the book, and the book gives many particulars concerning it, however this invasion may be related to that by the locusts.

In the first part of the book, the human invaders are not described in full, like the locusts and the drouth, but are barely mentioned, in the closing verse, ii. 17 :

“Have pity, O Jehovah, upon thy people,
 And give not thy inheritance for a reproach,
 For nations to lord it among them.”

Here we should translate simply “nations,” not “the nations,” as in the revised version, nor “the heathen,” as in the old version. With the translation “lord it among them,” or “rule over them,” there can be no doubt of the meaning. If any one knew for certain that the verse refers, not to a foreign invasion, but to the previously named calamities of locusts and drouth, he might reconcile the verse to the facts by translating, as in the margin of the versions, “use a byword against them,” but there is no sufficient reason for adopting this relatively unusual rendering.

Although the human invaders are thus only just mentioned in the first part of the book, they are very prominent in the second part. Jehovah's gracious reply briefly promises relief from the crop failure, indeed, but it is mainly devoted to promising, at length, that Jehovah

will judge these hostile nations. That is to say, the foreign invasion is treated, in the book, as of greater importance than the other calamities mentioned.

(1) In iv. 17 (iii. 17), we find the couplet :

“ And Jerusalem shall be holy,
Strangers no longer passing through her.”

Here is a distinct implication that, when the prophecy was uttered, Jerusalem was profaned by the transit of strangers.

(2) From iii. 5 (ii. 32) we learn that this occupation of Zion by strangers had been so thorough and severe that the remaining inhabitants might fairly be described as an escaping company of survivors :

“ Whosoever calls on Jehovah’s name shall escape;
For in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be those who escape,
According as Jehovah has said,
And in the case of the survivors whom Jehovah is calling.”

(3) From iv. 1, 2 (iii. 1, 2), we learn that there was a captivity (not an exile) of Judah and Jerusalem, for Jehovah to “ bring again ” :

“ For behold, in those days, and in that time,
When I bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem,
I will collect all the nations,
And will bring them down into the valley of Jehovah-judgeth,
And will enter into judgment with them there,
Over my people and my inheritance Israel,
Whom they scattered among the nations,
And my land they apportioned.”

From these last lines we also learn that the invaders had scattered Jehovah’s people among the nations, and portioned out his land. It is not said that those to whom his land was apportioned retained their possession of it, and the contrary is implied by what follows.

(4) In regard to the Jewish captives here mentioned, we have further particulars. Boys and girls had been sold, a boy for a harlot, and a girl for wine, iv. 3 (iii. 3). They had been sold to the Greeks, in order to take them far from home, and were still in the places whither they had been sold, iv. 6, 7 (iii. 6, 7) :

“ And the sons of Judah and the sons of Jerusalem
Ye sold to the sons of the Javanim,
In order to place them far from upon their border.

Behold I am arousing them from the place
Whither ye sold them. . . .”

(5) As a peculiar feature of the invasion, there had been a scene of reckless dissipation and gambling among the invaders, iv. 3 (iii. 3) :

“And for my people they cast lots,
And they gave a boy for a harlot,
And a girl they sold for wine, and drank.”

Here the translation of the versions, “sold a girl for wine, that they might drink,” is inconsistent with the Waw consecutive.

In all this, it should be noticed, sharply and clearly, that the thing described is not the gathering together of the population of a country, and the transporting of them, as settlers, into another country, but is the ordinary process of taking captives in war, and selling them as slaves. In other words, we have here, not the deportation of the masses of the inhabitants of extensive tracts of country, such as was practised by Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Nebuchadnezzar, — the deported people becoming citizens of the country to which they were carried, — but the very different process of capturing large numbers of individuals, and selling them into personal slavery.

(6) Further, the invaders in Joel are not spoken of as permanently occupying the country. They are presently to be driven out, not by the men of Judah, but by Jehovah, they marching eastward out of the country, and meeting a dreadful overthrow, ii. 19, 20 :

“And I will no longer give you as a reproach among the nations;
And the Northerner I will remove far from upon you,
And drive him out unto a dry and desolate land.
[Will turn] his face unto the eastern sea,
And his rear unto the hinder sea,
And his stench will come up,
And may his evil smell come up!
Because he hath done great things.”

It is very common to identify “the Northerner” here with the locusts, and to understand the verse as describing the disappearance of the locusts, with a great stench, in the seas. To favor this interpretation, the revised version has so stretched the translation that it has got its locusts into the very remarkable position of being at the same instant in the two seas, and in the barren and desolate land.

But all this is clearly a mistake. There is no propriety in calling the locusts the Northerner. Under the ordinary operations of natural law, locusts do not come to Palestine from the north. Besides, the representation of the book is, as we have seen, that the locusts had already disappeared some time before this promise was given. Possibly there is an allusion here to the phenomena of the sudden disappearance of locusts, but it is nothing more than an allusion ; the event described is something different. The specification in the prayer in ver. 17 is :

“Give not thy inheritance for a reproach,
For nations to lord it among them,”

and in vs. 19, 20 we have the specific reply to this specific request :

“I will no longer give you a reproach among the nations,
But the Northerner I will remove from upon you.”

Evidently, “the Northerner” is to be identified with the “nations” that were then lording it in Jehovah’s inheritance. We are not yet quite ready to ask what nations these were ; the fact now before us is that this passage says that the foreign invader is still in the land when the fast is held, but is presently to be compelled to arrange his columns, with their front to the east and their rear to the west, and march out of the country, but even thus will not escape a great overthrow on battlefields where the unburied bodies of the slain will pollute the air.

(7) The nations that are to be judged for these hostilities are described as “all the nations from round about,” iv. 11, 12, 2 (iii. 11, 12, 2) :

“Haste ye and come, all the nations from round about, and let them be
collected;
Thither, O Jehovah, lead down thy heroes;
Let the nations be aroused, that they may come up
Unto the valley of Jehovah-judgeth;
For there will I sit to judge all the nations from round about.”

“And I will collect all the nations,
And will bring them down unto the valley of Jehovah-judgeth,
And will enter into judgment with them there,
Over my people, and my inheritance Israel,
Whom they have scattered among the nations,” etc.

This phrase “all the nations from round about” most naturally describes the Syrian countries to the northeast and north, with the

Phoenicians, the Philistines, the Edomites, Moab, Ammon, etc. It might possibly be extended to include more distant nations. Among these nations, the book of Joel specifically mentions "the Northerner," and Tyre, Sidon, Philistia, Edom, and Egypt. Of these, the Northerner is evidently mentioned as the principal enemy of Zion, and the others as accessories.

(8) Against Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia, the complaint seems to be that they participated in the hostilities in the way of traffic in Jewish slaves and spoils, iv. 3-8 (iii. 3-8) :

"And for my people they cast lots,
And they gave a boy for a harlot,
And a girl they sold for wine, and drank.
And also, what are ye to me, O Tyre and Sidon,
And all the regions of Philistia?
Are ye making even a retaliation upon me?
And if ye are retaliating upon me,
Swiftly, speedily, I will turn your retaliation to your own heads.

Ye who took my silver and my gold!
And my fair objects of delight
Ye brought in to your palaces!
And the sons of Judah and the sons of Jerusalem
Ye sold to the sons of the Javanim,
In order to place them far from their border.

Behold me arousing them from the place
Whither ye sold them,
And I will turn your retaliation to your own heads,
And will sell your sons and your daughters
Into the hand of the sons of Judah;
And they will sell them to the Shebaites, unto a far nation,
For Jehovah hath spoken."

(9) In these lines, apart from the fact that Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia had carried Jewish spoils to their palaces, and had exported Jewish slaves, we have the additional fact that they made some claim of a right of retaliation, to justify themselves in their course, — a right of retaliation, apparently, against Jehovah himself.

(10) Egypt and Edom are coupled together, in Joel, possibly with no charge made against Egypt. If there is a charge against Egypt, it is the same with that against Edom. The passage is iv. 19, 20 (iii. 19, 20) :

"Egypt for a desolation shall be;
While Edom for a wilderness of desolation shall be;
From the violence of the sons of Judah;

Who shed innocent blood in their land.
 Meanwhile Judah to eternity shall dwell,
 And Jerusalem to generation and generation."

Perhaps Egypt is here coupled with Edom only in the assertion that they shall be desolate, while Judah shall dwell eternally, and not in the accusation of violence and the shedding of innocent blood. This charge as here made against Edom, and possibly against Egypt, is made in peculiar language. The phrase "from the violence of the sons of Judah" means, of course, violence done by Edom to the sons of Judah. "Who shed innocent blood in their land" is, verbally, an ambiguous statement, with four possible principal meanings. Probably, however, it does not mean that the sons of Judah shed innocent blood, either in their own land or in the land of Edom. If it means that the Edomites shed innocent blood, not in the land of Judah, but in their own land, then the innocent blood spoken of may be that of Judaite fugitives, fleeing to Edom before the invading Northerner, and there received with violence, instead of with the hospitality they had a right to expect. It is not claimed, of course, that this meaning is explicitly given in Joel, but only that it is a perfectly natural meaning for the words in Joel, in case reasons should appear from any quarter for assigning this meaning to them.

We turn now to the book of Obadiah.

This book, like the book of Joel, may be regarded as a monograph on "The Day of Jehovah," regarded as a day of judgment for the nations, 15; though Obadiah has especially to do with the relations of Edom to that day. The occasion of uttering the prophecy is presented as a great punishment actually inflicted upon Edom, 1 b-6. The subsequent portions of the book contain many specifications of a certain great offence committed by Edom, whereby he had become obnoxious to this punishment, and to the further judgments threatened in connection with the day of Jehovah. Hence the historical situation of the book of Obadiah is double — partly that of the time when Edom was punished, and when the prophecy was uttered, and partly that of the earlier time when Edom committed the crime for which he was punished. While Obadiah does not use the phrase "the day of Jehovah" in regard to this earlier time, he yet very prominently speaks of a certain calamitous juncture in that time as "the day," 11-14: "the day when thou stoodest opposite," "the day when strangers took captive his army," "the day of thy brother," "the day of his disaster," "the day of their perishing," "a day of distress" twice, "the day of their calamity," "the day of his calamity."

ity" twice. Evidently, in the structure of the book of Obadiah, these phrases hold a place analogous to that held by the mention of the calamitous "day of Jehovah" in the first part of the book of Joel; so that in Obadiah, as well as in Joel, we have a day of chastisement for Zion, as well as a day of judgment for the nations.

Taking up the earlier of the two historical situations in Obadiah, we find it to be point for point the same with that in Joel, to such an extent that we are justified in concluding that the two are the same, and, in the points where they differ, are to be allowed to supplement each other.

(1) We have found Joel specifying that strangers were passing through Jerusalem, iv. 17 (iii. 17). Obadiah has the same specification, 11 :

"In the day when thou stoodest opposite,
In the day when strangers took captive his force,
Foreigners having come in at (or into) his gates."

Here the difference between Joel and Obadiah is that the statement in Obadiah is more full and specific.

(2) We have found Joel saying that those who call on the name of Jehovah shall escape, for there shall be those who escape in Jerusalem, in the case of the survivors whom Jehovah is calling, iii. 5 (ii. 32). Obadiah makes similar statements, in similar words, 14, 17 :

"Stand not thou at the road-forks,
To cut off his escaping ones;
And shut not up his survivors," etc.

"In Mount Zion shall be those who escape, and they shall be holy."

(3) We have found Joel speaking of a captivity of Judah that needs to be restored, of Israelites scattered among the nations, and of boys, girls, and other citizens, sold into slavery in distant lands, iv. 1, 2, 3, 6 (iii. 1, 2, 3, 6). Obadiah, 11, gives us a similar picture :

"In the day when foreigners took captive his force."

Here the rendering of the old version, put into the margin by the revisers, is clearly the correct rendering, as opposed to that preferred by the revisers: "carried away captive his forces," not "carried away his substance." There are several good reasons for this view, a single one of which is sufficient: the verb שָׁבַר, the verb that is here employed, ordinarily denotes the carrying away of captives, not

of property, and there is no reason for thinking that it is used here in an extraordinary meaning.

This picture is repeated in the twentieth verse. We begin translating with verse 19 :

“ And they shall possess the south country with mount Esau,
And the lowland with the Philistines;
And they shall possess the field of Ephraim,
And the field of Samaria,
And Benjamin with the Gilead;
And those in exile of this force
To Israel's sons, who are among Canaanites unto Zarephath,
And those in exile of Jerusalem, who are in Sepharad,
Shall possess the cities of the south country.”

This is the true translation of this passage, making all the names of countries objectives, finding in the whole the simple meaning that “the sons of Jacob” shall have possession equally of the south country and of Benjamin, of Samaria and of Gilead, of Philistia and of Edom, with the added promise that certain exiles who are or have been in the Phœnician markets, and certain exiles who are or have been in Sepharad, shall have their part in these possessions, along with the other sons of Jacob. This rendering is greatly preferable to those found in the versions, which make some of the names of countries nominatives and some of them objectives, at the cost of being compelled to supply several phrases, and even then leaving the meaning unintelligible.

In alluding to these events, Obadiah uses the word exile, גלות, and Joel does not, but both alike have in mind a condition of things in which the sons of Jacob, as a people, are dwelling in their own country, while some of their number have been taken forcibly into foreign countries. Among these, Joel specifies certain boys and girls, while Obadiah very prominently specifies a captured army. Evidently, these differences do not necessarily render the accounts contradictory ; they may merely render them complementary, one of the other.

(4) Joel, as we have seen, speaks of the captives as having been sold to the Greeks, to place them far from their native country, and as being still there, iv. 6, 7 (iii. 6, 7). Obadiah speaks of some of them as being in Sepharad, and prevalent opinion identifies Sepharad with Sardis, or locates it near Sardis, on the western coast of Asia Minor. There may be no sufficient reasons for holding that Sepharad

was a Grecian region when Obadiah prophesied ; but there are no reasons at all for holding the contrary.

(5) We have found Joel mentioning a scene of reckless gambling and drinking, when the invaders cast lots for Jehovah's people, and gave a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for wine, and drank, iv. 3 (iii. 3). Obadiah, verses 11, 16, lays stress upon a similar scene :

"And upon Jerusalem they cast lots."

"For as ye drank upon my holy mountain,
All the nations shall drink continually;
And shall drink, and gulp down, and be as those who are not."

(6) We learned from Joel that the invaders there spoken of were not to occupy the country permanently, but were to be presently driven out, ii. 20. This accords with the fact that, in Obadiah, Jacob's day of calamity is steadily spoken of as a thing of the past, an event to be looked back to, in the way of reminiscence.

(7) In Joel the hostile nations are described as those round about, the Northerner being designated as principal, and the Phœnicians, Philistines, Edomites, and perhaps the Egyptians, as accessories, iv. 2, 11, 12, 4, 19 (iii. 2, 11, 12, 4, 19). In Obadiah the specifications are the same, save that Egypt is not mentioned. The nations specified by name are the Phœnicians, that is, the Canaanites in the vicinity of Zarephath, 20, the Philistines, 19, and Edom. But none of these play the principal part in the hostilities against Zion ; even Edom, against whom the prophecy is mainly uttered, is clearly spoken of merely as the accomplice of the principal invaders. These are not named, but are designated as "strangers," and "foreigners," 11 :

"In the day when thou stoodest opposite,
In the day when strangers took captive his force,
And foreigners came in at his gates,
And cast lots upon Jerusalem,
Thou also wast as one of them."

Here the offence charged against Edom is not that he took captive the army of Jacob, and attacked Jerusalem, but that he stood opposite while it was done, and made common cause with those who did it.

(8) In Joel, the offence charged against Phœnicia and Philistia is mainly their traffic in Israelite captives, iv. 3-8 (iii. 3-8). In Obadiah, Philistia is mentioned without specifications, 19. In verse 20, already cited, we find Israelite exiles spoken of in connection with

"Canaanites unto Zarephath," and in the next line, exiles from Jerusalem in Sepharad. The meaning is not beyond doubt, but the words may naturally be understood as referring to a Phœnician slave market, where captives of Israelite race were exported. The Edomites needed a market of this sort, in order to dispose of the fugitives they captured. That the Edomites had allies who got them out to the border, by considerations of a bread-and-butter sort, for their work of cutting off the flight of the sons of Jacob, appears from ver. 7 :

"Unto the border they sent thee, all the men of thy covenant;
They succeeded in deceiving thee, the men of thy peace;
Thy bread they were placing as a snare beneath thee;
There was no understanding in him."

(9) In Joel iv. 4, 7 (iii. 4, 7), we found the Phœnicians and Philistines making a claim of retaliation to justify their hostile conduct. In Obad. 15 we find the Edomites there spoken of making a similar claim, which is disposed of in a similar way :

"As ye have done it shall be done to you;
Your retaliation shall turn to your own head."

Here, except the change in the person of the verb, the language of Obadiah is identical with that of Joel.

(10) The part actually taken by Edom in these hostilities we have found described in Joel in two phrases, iv. 19 (iii. 19). The first of the two phrases is "from the violence of the sons of Judah," with the meaning, by reason of the violence done by thee to the sons of Judah. The decidedly peculiar syntax of this phrase occurs again, describing precisely the same kind of offence on the part of Edom, in Obad. 10 :

'From the violence of thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee.'

The other phrase in Joel is "who shed innocent blood in their land." If this means that the Edomites shed innocent blood in their own land, then Obad. 12-14, the verses in which Obadiah specifies Edom's principal offence, might easily be regarded as an amplification of Joel's words :

"And look thou not on in the day of thy brother, in his day of disaster;
And rejoice not for the sons of Judah, in the day of their perishing;
And make not great thy mouth in a day of distress.

Come not thou in at the gate of my people, in their day of calamity;
 Look thou not, even thou, at his evil, in his day of calamity;
 And let not thy women point at his force, in his day of calamity.

And stand thou not at the crossroads to cut off his escaping ones;
 And shut thou not up his survivors, in a day of distress."

The translation here given to the last line of ver. 13 is certainly the most natural one, though it is ignored by the versions, and by most expositors. Here, as elsewhere in Obadiah, חַיִּל should be taken to mean forces, and not property. The verb is regular, if counted as a feminine, and is absolutely inexplicable on any other supposition. The thing described is not the taking of Jewish plunder by Edomites, but the ill treatment of Jewish fugitives in the land of Edom. The foreign invader has defeated Jacob's army, and captured a large part of it. The broken fragments of it, with multitudes of Jewish citizens, flee southward, and seek refuge with Edom. The relations between the two peoples have been brotherly, and they have reason to expect kindness; but instead of this, they are met with violence by the men, and with jeers by the women.

Many additional considerations might be adduced, notably many peculiarities of language and of coloring, to show that these two prophets had in mind the same group of events; but it can hardly be necessary to urge them, save as we have occasion to mention some of them for other purposes. Supposing the two to have the same events in mind, they represent the events to have been about as follows. Some time in the earlier half of a certain year, Palestine was visited by a remarkably destructive army of locusts. Later in the same year came a severe drouth, which culminated about the beginning of the tenth month, the seed sown for the next year's crop failing to germinate for lack of moisture. Meanwhile there was invasion by an enemy, not Israelites, from the north. The sons of Jacob were defeated, with severe loss, one characteristic of the battle being the capture of many prisoners by the victorious force. The invaders established their camp at the gate of Jerusalem, perhaps came within the gates. They held insolent carousals, in which the means for drinking, gambling, and harlotry were supplied in part by the sale of captives, non-combatants as well as prisoners of war. Meanwhile a crowd of fugitives, both soldiers and citizens, were flying southward, to the Edomite border, expecting there a friendly reception; but the Edomites made common cause with the invaders,

and slew or captured great numbers of the fugitives, both at the border, and across the border in the land of Edom.

The two maritime peoples, the Phœnicians and the Philistines, now found a harvest time. They entered into a brisk traffic in spoils and slaves, with the northern invader, and held out special inducements to the Edomites, in the same line of trade. This combination of misfortunes was so overwhelming, that it was spoken of for years afterward as the day of Jacob's calamity, and in other like terms; it was thought of, at the time, as the great and terrible day of Jehovah, appearing to punish his people. In view of it, Joel pictures the calling of a fast, either real or ideal, but in any case, dated at a specified time in the year, that is, not far from the beginning of the tenth month. At that time the northern invader is still in the land: but it is a remarkable feature in the case, that hostilities seem to have been so far suspended that agricultural operations have been resumed. To this the sown seed rotting under the clods is witness. The suggestion is that Judah had submitted to the invader, and accepted terms from him, and was now cultivating the ground. But though this was the case, the invader was presently to be driven out, and terribly overthrown.

We thus reach the question: When did this condition of things exist? In other words, who is this northern invader?

In trying to reply to this question, we must not expect to find anywhere a narrative of history mentioning all the points we have found, in the order in which we have found them; what we may reasonably expect is to find a historical situation which can be identified with the one we have been examining in some points, while in other points it may supplement this and be supplemented by it.

The fast for rain, in Joel, is very much like the fasts of which we have knowledge as institutions of the later Judaism. But this fact is not of great weight as proving a late date for the prophecy, as we have no means for determining the antiquity from which these particular institutions were handed down. If an early date can be proved for the prophesying of Joel, the fast for rain will thereby be proved to have existed, in idea, at least, at the same early date.

It is now very customary to identify the calamities mentioned in these books with those of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore to date the books in those times or later. But we have incidentally seen that these calamities are very different from those of the times of Nebuchadnezzar. In both books, throughout the time of calamity spoken of, and afterward, Judah is inhabited by her own people.

There is no trace of even the idea of such carrying off into exile as was accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, or by the Assyrian kings who preceded him. This silence of the books, so far as it goes, would indicate that they belong either later than the Babylonian period, or earlier than the times of Tiglath-pileser; for throughout the Assyrian and Babylonian periods, the exiling of populations, as distinct from individuals, was practised, and it is frequently spoken of by the prophets of those times, *e.g.* Am. i. 5, v. 5, vii. 11, 17, Isa. v. 13, Ezek. xxxix. 23, etc.

A similar conclusion follows from the prominence given in Joel to the house of God, the priesthood, the meat offering and drink offering, i. 9, 13, 14, 16, iii. 18. The situation is that of a time when the temple and its worship are in their glory, so that the cutting off of the customary supplies for these is the cutting off of everything for the nation. This must have been a time either much earlier or much later than Nebuchadnezzar.

Attention has often been called to the fact that parts of Obadiah are duplicated in Ps. cxxxvii., Ezek. xxv. and xxxv., Lam. iv., and Jer. xlix. In particular, the peculiar charge made against Edom, namely, his standing by and abetting atrocities committed against Jacob by some other power, is repeated in all these passages. It is an offence that Edom is likely to have committed more than once, and at widely separated dates. But in the psalm, and in Jer., Lam., and Ezek., it is easily inferable from the context that the power which Edom abetted was Babylonia; the absence, in Obadiah, of any ground for such an inference may be significant.

But in the case of Obadiah, even apart from all the light thrown upon the question by Joel, this is not a mere argument from silence. The prophet evidently speaks of the ravages committed against Zion as matters of the recent past, and as evidently pictures Zion as still maintaining her seat, waiting for the judgment of the nations. This could not be the case if the misfortunes in question were the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

Certainly, therefore, the situation is not that of the time of Nebuchadnezzar. That it belongs to times earlier than his, and not later, is evident from several considerations. On purely literary grounds, it would be agreed that the lines in Obadiah, just alluded to, are not quoted from any or all the other passages that contain them, while it is possible, at least, to explain all the others by the theory that they were drawn from Obadiah. It follows that Obadiah was earlier than Jeremiah; how much earlier must be learned from other sources.

From Obad. 17-19, it probably appears that the kingdom of Samaria was in existence when the prophecy was uttered :

“And the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions;
And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame,
And the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall burn among them and devour them.”

“And they shall possess the field of Ephraim, and the field of Samaria,
And Benjamin with the Gilead.”

We are therefore to look for the situation in question at some time before the extinction of the northern kingdom.

We have now reached a point where we are ready to notice that a situation strikingly like that which we have been examining, is delineated in the book of Amos. Amos prophesied in the times when Jeroboam II. was contemporary with Uzziah of Judah, and the situation implied in the book is mainly that of the times when he prophesied ; but there are two passages which offer a situation older than that implied in the other parts of the book, and very different from it. These passages are Am. iv. 6-11, and i.-ii. Each of these is a reminiscence of Jehovah's dealings with Israel and with the nations, at a certain time in the past. The English translations more or less obscure the meaning by using the indefinite past tense instead of the historical tense, but there can be no doubt that the situation, in each case, is definite.

We have found in Joel a situation in which a calamity of drouth and a calamity of locusts is combined with a calamity of foreign invasion, and we have found in Obadiah that the invasion included as one of its events, the defeat of an army of the sons of Jacob. With these facts compare Am. iv. 6-11 :

“And I also, I gave you cleanness of teeth in all your cities,
And lack of bread in all your places,
And ye turned not unto me, saith Jehovah.

And I also, I withheld from you the showers,
When it was yet three months to the harvest,
And I was causing it to rain upon one city,
And upon another city I was not causing rain,
One portion was being rained upon,
And the portion whereon there was no rain was withering,
And they wandered, two, three cities unto one city,
To drink water, and had not enough :
And ye turned not unto me, saith Jehovah.

I smote you with blasting and with mildew;
 Your many gardens and vineyards
 And your figtrees and olives the gāzām was devouring;
 And ye turned not unto me, saith Jehovah.

I sent among you pestilence in the way of Egypt;
 I slew your young men with the sword,
 With the captivity of your horses;
 And I brought up the stench of your camps even into your nose;
 And ye turned not unto me, saith Jehovah.

I made overthrow among you,
 Like God's overthrowing Sodom and Gomorrah,
 And ye were as a brand plucked from a burning;
 And ye turned not unto me, saith Jehovah."

We have here, as in Joel, the drouth, the locusts, and the foreign invader. The drouth culminates three months before harvest time — at the same time of the year which Joel indicates by describing the seed of the future harvest as rotting in the ground. In regard to the overthrow in battle, Amos gives some details that Joel and Obadiah do not give. Either he mentions a pestilence connected with it, or he calls the defeat itself a pestilence. He says that it was "in the way of Egypt"; this may possibly mean after the fashion of Egypt, as the versions make it, but more naturally it is to be understood geographically, locating the battle in which the defeat occurred. Joel speaks of the carrying captive of Jacob's forces, while Amos mentions the taking captive of his horses. Amos is mainly addressing northern Israel, while Joel mentions Judah only, and Obadiah has Judah in mind, but Judah in common relations with the northern kingdom (he speaks in ver. 20 of exiles of the army of the sons of Israel, as distinguished from exiles of Jerusalem). There is no conflict between the representation of Joel that the people of Jerusalem, in their public fast, for the time being turned penitently unto Jehovah, and the statement of Amos that, in the broader and more permanent sense, Israel turned not to Jehovah. In fine, the resemblances between the situation in this passage in Amos and that in Joel and Obadiah are very marked, and the differences are easily explicable in case the situations be regarded as the same.

In the poem "I will not reverse it," Am. i., ii., we have again the presentation of a historical situation of a time that was past when Amos prophesied. In this situation, as in Joel and Obadiah, the nations around Israel appear. Of Edom it is said, i. 11 :

"For three transgressions of Edom,
 And for four, I will not reverse it,
 For his pursuing with the sword his brother, and destroying his
 compassions,
 And his anger tore in pieces to eternity,

 And his wrath he had kept it without end;
 I will send a fire into Teman,
 And it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah."

In this it is to be noticed that the verbs which assert that his anger tore in pieces to eternity, and he had kept his wrath without end, are not continuatives, but perfects; the assertion is not, as one might infer from the versions, that his anger at that time kept tearing, and that he was keeping up his wrath perpetually, but that his anger at that time tore, and his anger had been kept up till then, though they ought long before to have vanished. We have here, then, as in Joel and Obadiah, hostile acts of Edom against Jacob; as in Obadiah, we have an aggravation in the fact that Edom was in brotherly relations with Jacob; as in Obadiah we found Edom pleading a right of retaliation, so here we find him eternally keeping up an old grudge. Further, we have not here the details that are given in Obadiah, but we have a single sentence that might easily be understood as a general statement including those details.

In Am. i. 6-10, we read:

"For three transgressions of Gaza,
 And for four, I will not reverse it,
 For their carrying exiles wholly into exile, shutting up to Edom;
 I will send a fire into the wall of Gaza,
 And it shall devour her palaces;
 And I will cut off dweller from Ashdod,
 And sceptre-bearer from Ashkelon,
 And will turn my hand upon Ekron,
 And the rest of the Philistines shall perish,
 Saith the Lord Jehovah.

 Thus saith Jehovah:
 For three transgressions of Tyre,
 And for four, I will not reverse it,
 For their shutting up exiles wholly to Edom,
 And they remembered not a brethren's covenant;
 I will send fire into the wall of Tyre,
 And it shall devour her palaces."

In Obad. 14, we found Edom censured for standing at the cross-roads to cut off Jacob's escaping ones, and "shutting up" his surviv-

ing fugitives. This same peculiar phrase "shutting up" meets us twice in the passage just cited from Amos; the Philistines and the Phœnicians alike are rebuked for shutting up Jacob's exiles, and for shutting them up to Edom. As in Obadiah and in Amos fault is found with Edom for not being brotherly when brotherliness was to be expected, so here, fault is found with Tyre for not remembering a brethren's covenant. Here as in Joel and Obadiah the Phœnicians and Philistines are joined with the Edomites in the business of transporting Israelites into foreign countries.

These particulars fit with those we have already studied, and we have the additional fact in the situation that in the invasion of the "Northerner" Israel and Judah suffered in common, and that for some time previous, they had been in brotherly relations with Phœnicia and Edom.

An incident which may be significant, in this connection, is that the rebuke to Moab, in this song of Amos, is not for offences committed against Jacob, but for burning the bones of the king of Edom to lime, ii. 1. This seems to imply that the offence against Edom, at that time, was an offence against Jacob, and it is, to this extent, a commentary on what Amos and Obadiah say as to the brotherhood between Jacob and Edom. Since this brotherhood involves such consequences, and since it is mentioned on the same basis with the brotherhood between Tyre and Jacob, it is evidently something else than barely the ancient affinity of blood.

In the considerations thus adduced, we have been constantly approaching an answer to the question, Who is the northern invader? Amos gives a hint at a very definite answer, in the fact that in this poem, "I will not reverse it," the list of nations rebuked is headed by Syria-Damascus, the names of Hazael and Benhadad being mentioned, i. 3:

"For three transgressions of Damascus,
And for four, I will not reverse it,
For their threshing Gilead with the iron threshing sledges;
I will send a fire into the house of Hazael,
And it will devour the palaces of Benhadad."

It is true that the crime here charged upon Damascus is merely the threshing of Gilead, and not the threshing of Israel as a whole (cf. "and made them as the dust for threshing," 2 Ki. xiii. 7), nor the attack upon Jerusalem; but these latter events, according to the history, had also occurred, and must have been present to the mind

of Amos, whatever may have been his reasons for not explicitly mentioning them.

At the time when Hazael made his attack upon Jerusalem, Rimman-nirari was king of Assyria. He mentions as his tributaries northern Israel, Phœnicia, Philistia, and Edom, just the four peoples that are grouped with Judah in the books of Obadiah and Joel. He also says that he reduced Mariha, king of Damascus, to subjection, inflicting great loss upon him, and imposing heavy fines; Mariha means lord, and may well be a designation of Hazael, or of his son Benhadad. Not quite half a century before Hazael's attack on Jerusalem, when the two Jehorams reigned in Jerusalem and in Samaria, Edom, and probably Philistia, had become independent of Judah. A little later, Shalmaneser II. of Assyria, grandfather to Rimman-nirari, claims finally to have achieved the subjugation of nearly all this region. Now, under Rimman-nirari, the four peoples just named seem to have been quietly paying their tribute, while Damascus, with the peoples immediately under her influence, was refractory. This state of things would produce for a time a community of interest between the two Israelitish kingdoms and the Phœnicians, Philistines, and Edomites, which might well ripen into brotherly relations with some of them. And if amity of this sort existed, there existed also, beneath it, the remembrance of what Tyrian Jezebel and Athaliah and their friends had suffered at the hands of the dynasties of Jehu and of David, and the remembrance of what Edom and Philistia had suffered of old from David himself; and these remembered events might, on occasion, serve as pretexts, in case the Phœnicians or Edomites should need a claim of retaliation, to justify them in committing hostile acts against Jacob.

The accounts of Hazael's expedition given in 2 Ki. xii. 18-19 (17-18), 2 Chron. xxiv. 23-24 do not mention that the northern kingdom had any share in these hostilities; but they mention that "the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and Jehovah delivered a very great host into their hand." They assert, therefore, agreeing with the statements we have found in Obadiah and Amos, that there was a great battle and a great defeat. They further declare that the oppression of northern Israel by Hazael lasted all the days of King Jehoahaz, 2 Ki. xiii. 22, but that "Jehoahaz besought Jehovah, and Jehovah heard him, . . . and . . . gave Israel a savior," 2 Ki. xiii. 4, 5 — that is, that the movement for deliverance was in progress just before Jehoahaz died. Still further, they tell us that the army of Jehoahaz was reduced to ten chariots, fifty horsemen, and

10,000 footmen, 2 Ki. xiii. 7. On the face of it, this might be the result, either of a single great defeat, or of a long-continued wasting process ; if it resulted from a defeat, there might be a rapid recovery of strength, as there could not be if it resulted from a wasting process. But the recovery was exceedingly rapid ; within a very short time after the death of Jehoahaz, his successor was beating the Syrians in battle after battle, 2 Ki. xiii. 25, etc., besides having 100,000 men to hire out to the king of Judah, 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 6. It follows that the reduction of the forces of Jehoahaz was effected by a great defeat, the battle not being specifically designated in the historical books. There is no direct testimony to the effect that the "very great host" which Jehovah delivered into the hand of Hazael was the combined armies of northern and southern Israel, and that this was the defeat by which the forces of Jehoahaz were so reduced ; but this is exceedingly probable. The disproportion between the 10,000 footmen who were left over to Jehoahaz and his fifty horsemen and ten chariots suggests that the losses in his horse force had been especially heavy ; and this reminds us that Amos speaks of "the captivity of your horses" as especially characterizing the overthrow "in the way of Egypt" that he describes.

Again, the historical books testify that Hazael first captured Gath, and then "set his face to go up to Jerusalem." This fits two things in the description of Amos : he says that the great defeat was in the way of Egypt, just where it would be if it was the defeat of an Israelite army marching to the relief of Gath ; and in his rebuke to the Philistines, he mentions the other four Philistine cities, but omits Gath. Further, the defeat of an army of defence, in this locality, would have such effects as we have found implied in the book of Obadiah ; the fugitives, whether citizens or soldiers, would be driven toward Edom.

That a defeat of this sort would be sure to be followed by such conduct on the part of Edom, Philistia, Tyre, and Sidon, as we have found pictured in the books of Obadiah, Joel, and Amos, that is to say, by violence to the defeated, based on pretended ancient grudges, by the cutting off of fugitives, by the stirring up of a brisk traffic in captives, cannot be doubted.

We have found in Joel and Obadiah the picture of scenes of carousal, before Jerusalem, in the victorious army. Too much stress should not be laid on this point, but precisely similar conduct characterized the Syrian army of Hazael's predecessor, Benhadad, when they lay before Samaria, 1 Ki. xx. 12, 16.

The account in the historical books is that Jehoash of Judah made his submission to Hazael, giving him royal treasures and treasures from the temple, to persuade him to leave, 2 Ki. xii. 19 (18). After the terms of submission had been agreed upon, the people of Judah would be at liberty to cultivate the ground, without waiting for the actual departure of the Syrian forces. This is the same point in the situation that we have already found given in the book of Joel.

From 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, we learn that Hazael started on his expedition "at the revolution of the year," that is, at the autumnal equinox, cf. Ex. xxxiv. 22. We have no statements as to the time it took for him to cross the country, capture Gath, defeat the armies opposed to him, dictate terms to Jerusalem, and wait for them to be complied with; but about three months is long enough for this, and not too long; and he may have been lying before Jerusalem at the time in the year when Joel's fasting assembly were mourning over the seed that lay ungerminant in the ground.

Joel's Northerner was to be driven out, marching eastward out of the country into a dry and desolate land, and his stench was to ascend. At first thought, this seems inconsistent with the account in Kings, where the Syrians are represented as being paid to leave, and taking with them the royal and sacred treasures. But as we think of it, there is no conflict between this latter statement and the additional statements in Kings, to the effect that almost immediately afterward Hazael was dead, and his son Benhadad was at the mercy of the recently so weak kingdom of northern Israel. Whether the overthrow of Damascus by Rimman-nirari happened just at this juncture, or whether Jehovah brought about his purposes in some other way, the narrator in Kings certainly gives us to understand that the Northerner was, at this juncture, signally overthrown.

Brief as are the accounts which the historical books give of Hazael's expedition to Jerusalem, they evidently speak of it as the most dreadful calamity from foreign enemies which they mention, from the times of David to those of Hezekiah; a calamity which might well be remembered as pre-eminently the day of Jacob's misfortune — the day of Jehovah's visitation of his iniquities upon him. We have a right to expect to find this event prominently mentioned in the prophetic books, and the mention we find of it in Joel, Obadiah, and Amos, if this be the event they mention, accurately fulfils this expectation.

Certain other phenomena confirm the views thus reached. In Obadiah, the condition of calamity there depicted has been followed

by a signal overthrow of Edom, in which the prophet exults, though he looks forward to a vengeance still more decisive, 1 b-6 :

“Behold I have made thee little among the nations; despoiled art thou exceedingly;
The insolence of thy heart hath deceived thee,
O my dweller in the crags of Sela, the height where he dwelleth;
He was saying in his heart, Who shall bring me down to earth?

If thou go high like the eagle, or if among stars thy nest is set,
From there I will bring thee down, saith Jehovah.

If thieves came in to thee, if nightly spoilers,
(How hast thou been overthrown!) would they not steal till they had enough?

If grape-gatherers came to thee, would they not leave [some] clusters?
How has Esau been searched out, his hidden things explored!”

In these lines, the one Edomite proper name that is mentioned is Sela. Especial vengeance has just been taken on Edom for his crime in cutting off the fugitives of Jacob. If that crime was committed in the time of Hazael's expedition, then the vengeance here described may well be that taken by Amaziah, a few years after Hazael's expedition, when he signalized his victory over Edom by hurling down ten thousand prisoners of war from the cliffs of Sela.

Again, in both Joel and Obadiah, the condition of calamity is to be followed by the judging of the nations, and by the restoration of Jacob to honor; according to Obadiah, by his taking possession of every part of his territory, from Gilead on the north to the Shephelah, the south country, and Edom on the south. Precisely such a taking possession of territory occurred, according to the historical books, in the reigns of Jeroboam II. of Israel and Uzziah of Judah.

Again, if a critic who had no other knowledge of the books had his attention called to the passages that are common to Obadiah and Joel, or to Joel and Amos, he would probably reach the conclusion that both Obadiah and Amos quote from Joel.

Finally, the doctrine of the day of Jehovah is taught in Joel with some fulness and orderly arrangement; in Obadiah, Amos, and several later prophecies, it is quoted as a doctrine already known, capable of being referred to and developed. To cite only two passages in proof of this, Obadiah says, 15 :

“For near is the day of Jehovah upon all the nations,”

adding no explanation or comment, but simply intimating that when the well-known day arrived, Edom would take his share in the penalties it would bring. And Amos says, v. 18 :

“ Alas ye who are longing for the day of Jehovah,
What is it to you — the day of Jehovah? It is darkness and not light.”

Phenomena of this kind show that the prophecy of Obadiah antedates that of Amos, and that Joel antedates Obadiah ; and this agrees with all we have seen as to the historical situation.

The conclusion is that the historical situation in Joel is that of the invasion of Hazael, seen from a strictly contemporary point of view, and that the situation in Obadiah is the same, from the point of view of a time a few years later, just after Amaziah's victory over Edom, and before the break with Israel that almost immediately followed that victory. It would not necessarily follow that the two books were written at these dates, but as a matter of fact, that is the conclusion justified by the evidence.